

UNIVERSIDAD DE SALAMANCA

FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA

GRADO EN ESTUDIOS INGLESES

Trabajo de Fin de Grado

Changes in British Pronunciation Models: The Rise of Estuary English as a Prestige Variety

Pilar Bernardo Jambrina

Jorge Andrés Prieto Prat

Salamanca, 2017

UNIVERSIDAD DE SALAMANCA

FACULTAD DE FILOLOGÍA

GRADO EN ESTUDIOS INGLESES

Trabajo de Fin de Grado

Changes in British Pronunciation Models:

The Rise of Estuary English as a Prestige Variety

This thesis is submitted for the degree of English Studies

Date 4th of July 2017

Tutor: Jorge Andrés Prieto Prat

V^o B^o

Signature

ABSTRACT [EN]

British pronunciation models have been an object of study for a long time, discussing the prestige of one variety or another in terms of formality. Since the consolidation of English as an international language, the search of a standard form of pronunciation has been a major concern among linguists. This paper will discuss Received Pronunciation as an outstanding variety which has strengthened during the twentieth century and its gradual loss of relevance in relation to Estuary English, a dialectal form which started being regionally located in the south-east and which has gained ground over RP, displacing it to a secondary level, especially among young generations. This transition has caused several consequences in education, society, economy and politics, among other fields.

KEY WORDS: communicative criteria, correctness, formality, norm, model, linguistic insecurity, accent convergence, street credibility, continuum variety, dialect levelling, social stratification, code-switching, acceptability, World Englishes, cockneyfication, Jockney, Lingua Franca Core, RP (Received Pronunciation), NRP (Non-Regional Pronunciation), EE (Estuary English), BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation), ESL (English as a Second Language), UCL (University College London).

RESUMEN [ES]

Desde sus inicios, los modelos de pronunciación británicos han sido objeto de estudio llevados a debate discutiendo la formalidad de una variedad de prestigio u otra. Desde la consolidación del inglés a nivel internacional, la búsqueda de un modelo de pronunciación estándar se ha convertido en una gran preocupación entre los lingüistas. Este ensayo pretende analizar la RP o “pronunciación aceptada” como variante predominante durante el siglo veinte y su sucesiva pérdida de relevancia en relación con el denominado “inglés del estuario”, una forma originariamente dialectal localizada al sudeste de Inglaterra y que ha terminado desplazando a la variedad reina a un segundo plano, especialmente entre la gente joven. Este cambio ha tenido consecuencias en educación, sociedad, economía y política, entre otros campos.

PALABRAS CLAVE: criterio comunicativo, adecuación, formalidad, norma, modelo, inseguridad lingüística, convergencia de acentos, credibilidad pública, variedad continua, contacto dialectal, división social, cambio de código, aceptación, ingleses globales, pronunciación aceptada, pronunciación no regional, inglés del estuario, BBC, inglés como lengua extranjera, UCL (universidad pública de Londres).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. EMERGENCE OF RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION (RP) AS A STANDARD VARIETY.	1
2. A CHANGE IN THE PERCEPTION OF RP.	3
3. THE GOLDEN AGE OF ESTUARY ENGLISH.	3
3.1. Definition: A continuum between RP and Cockney.....	3
3.2. Young generations as outstanding agents	5
3.3. The role of the BBC.	5
3.4. London as a source of speech innovation.	6
3.5. Purist reactions	6
4. RECENT RESEARCH SUPPORTING THE PROMINENT WEIGHT OF EE.	7
5. EDUCATIONAL, SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REPERCUSSIONS ...	12
CONCLUSION.....	14
WORKS CITED.....	15

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to analyse British models of pronunciation through the transition from Received Pronunciation (RP) as a well-founded standard variety towards the adoption of Estuary English (EE) becoming an extended form among British population irrespective of their regional origins. In order to present a thorough exploration of this phenomenon, this essay will cover different parts starting with the origins of RP as a prestige variety followed by a subsequent ascent of EE due to different factors: the role of young generations, the BBC and multicultural London. To support this statement, recent research will be provided in contrast to previous purist reactions against this modern variety. Finally, the main findings will have educational, social and economic repercussions in relation to the teaching of English as a Second Language (ESL), the acceptability of this variety among different sectors of the population and its impact in the business world.

1. EMERGENCE OF RECEIVED PRONUNCIATION (RP) AS A STANDARD VARIETY

On describing “received pronunciation”, it is particularly difficult to determine whether RP represents the norm linked to “the idea of correctness, independent of any considerations of language use” or a model of pronunciation as “a point of reference which adapts to the demands of a specific situation” (Jenkins 124). Research seem to point out that it is a model of prestige characterised by a “minimum variation in form and maximum variation in function” (Altendorf, *Estuary English* 28). Contrary to the attribution of RP’s first use to A. J. Ellis, it was actually John Walker who first talked about “this London pronunciation, best for being more generally received” (qtd. in Parsons 1998). This so-called Queen’s English is

defined as a non-regional variety associated with the upper class and promoted by British Public Schools. Hence, it can be concluded that “RP displays itself as a kind of standard in the sense that it is regionally neutral and does undeniably influence the modified accents of many British regions” (Ramsaran 183). There are some findings which confirm this hypothesis such as a survey performed in 1960s, to some adolescents from Somerset and South Wales who rated their conventional view towards the prestige of thirteen different accents. The results concluded that “RP accorded the highest status” (Ramsaran 193). Otherwise, among the strong points that consolidate RP as a well-established variety can be found, cited by Walker, “the disassociation with a particular region or social group, the availability of sources for study and its wide understanding” (1).

The association of RP with elitism has fostered the learning of this elevated style of diction. This phenomenon is called “adoptive RP” consisting of the integration of this “BBC English” by non-native users of this accent such as the emerging middle class because of their linguistic insecurity to sound rude and non-prestigious: “a reason for choosing RP could be that its stereotypical speaker is perceived as competent, reliable, educated and confident” (Mompeán, *Consumers' Preferences* 961).

Another important agent in the diffusion of RP is based on what linguists call “communicative criteria”, which consist of “the choice of an English pronunciation model looking at the intelligibility among speakers” (Mompeán, *Consumers' Preferences* 960). Given that RP is neutrally received and closely related to NRP (Non-Regional Pronunciation), it is significantly employed and considered “much more democratic and free from class divisions” (Rogaliński, n. pag.).

Nevertheless, language is continually evolving to the point of arriving to the delusive nature of RP, no longer seen as a popular variety and with its future role threatened by new emerging models.

2. A CHANGE IN THE PERCEPTION OF RP

RP's doubtful neutrality stands as a persuasive argument against its current usage in that it shares most of its features with the south-eastern accent, rather than approaching to northern varieties. Otherwise, its delineation is controversial because, as Ramsaran claims, "though it is based on the speech of London and the adjacent counties, it has features that are not shared by the accents of these areas" (179). Therefore, there is some contradiction in considering whether RP has a regional component or not and its origins are obscure.

Regarding its functionality, "less than 3% of the population actually speaks this model" (Walker 1). This adds to its tremendous complexity because, indeed, RP is not so easy to understand due the presence of schwas, glottal stops, vowel reductions and other intricate phonetic traits. As an illustration of this fact, the reality in the educational field is that many non-native speakers are unable to produce certain sounds registered as the norm in RP and different studies reveal that "some Spanish students find rhotic accents easier than non-rhotic accents" (Mompeán, *Consumers' Preferences* 961).

Another fact lies in the social deconstruction of the positive connotations attributed to this accent of prestige to the point of associating RP with an indisputable disaggregation: "it has become increasingly unpopular in the last few decades felt as an indicative of class prejudice" (Parsons 8).

3. THE GOLDEN AGE OF ESTUARY ENGLISH

3.1. Definition: A continuum between RP and Cockney

Coined by David Rosewarne in 1984, Estuary English was firstly described as "a variety of modified regional speech and a mixture of non-regional and local south-eastern

English pronunciation and intonation” (3). In fact, it was a dialect located around the river Thames and its estuary and today it stands as an intermediate form between mainstream RP and popular London speech, the so-called Cockney accent, employed by the working classes. Hence, EE is characterised by an unclear demarcation embracing a wide linguistic spectrum which can extend to Liverpool and even Glasgow (*Plus-Liverpool-Plus-Glasgow hypothesis* by Recknagel).

Regarding the internal analysis, EE shares features with current RP and Cockney and it is also influenced by Americanisms in the case of “Yod Dropping” in words such as ‘revolution or presume’. “T-Glottaling before consonants” in words like ‘Gatwick or Scotland’, “vocalisation of dark l” in ‘old’ and ‘milk’ and “diphthong shift” in words like ‘goat/mouth’ and ‘face/price’ stand as prominent Cockney features (Recknagel 16-17). Tönnies adds the “affricatisation /ts/ of the plosive /t/” in words such as ‘twenty’, the phenomenon of “happy-tensing” where ‘short i’ /ɪ/ is replaced by ‘long i’ /i:/ in ‘very’ and ‘pretty’ and the case of “square words” where the diphthong /ea/ is triphthonguised into /eɪə/ (8-9). Hence, this hybrid emerged as a result of Wells’s term “cockneyfication of RP”, which can be explained as “the adoption of stigmatized features from popular London by middle classes” (qtd. in Wotschke 100). It has rapidly become an example of accent convergence in that there is a tendency of new upper classes to disassociate them from conservatism while lower classes aim to experience an upward mobility using a less stigmatised variety. It can be analysed as a mixture of lower classes’ linguistic insecurity and street credibility desire among young RP users. This collaborative attitude searches to mitigate the effects of the two extremes between Cockney and Queen’s English resulting in the plausible success of EE being considered “the modern form of RP in a more relaxed mood” (Parsons 48). However, different scholars do not clearly ascertain whether it will be a case of overlapping over the traditional variant or not. One of the main reasons is the impossibility to delineate clear

boundaries between both varieties to the extent that, as stated by Lillo in 1994, “EE might overlap with the most colloquial variety of RP” (qtd. in Mompeán, *Revisiting the Debate* 6). Therefore, a final resolution affirming the substitution of RP by EE cannot be provided.

3.2. Young generations as outstanding agents

New users stand as the main responsible in the adoption of this type of speech in a dual sense. On the one hand, from a downward convergence when they belong to the working class but they do not speak as their predecessors taught them due to their integration with multi-ethnic groups in urban centres. On the other hand, EE is adopted by young members of the upper classes also influenced by multilingual contexts when they release from their Public Schools’ confinement. Rosewarne predicted that the use of EE would appeal to “the circles of privileged and influential young people in the future” (qtd. in Recknagel 22). Therefore, it can be concluded that age is a driving force in linguistic change to the extent that in a recent article published in *The Guardian* in 2016, Kennedy states that “the Queen’s English spoken by Prince George is not going to be the same as his grandmother’s one” (n. pag.).

3.3. The role of the BBC

The British Broadcasting Corporation has soon become a model of guidance about the choice of accents. Presenters, announcers and journalists adopted Received Pronunciation as the exclusive accent heard on TV and this phenomenon had immediate consequences for the audience. It was also the accent employed by most of the politicians and famous personalities and even the one displayed by the monarchy to the point of being called “Queen’s English”. However, this tendency is being modified by the proliferation of EE as the ‘in-style’ accent. In 2006, Recknagel presented “RP as the accent still used in the media” (14). Nevertheless, things have changed and “the BBC has made a lots of efforts to disassociate itself from the negative connotations of RP” (East n. pag.) in that it wants a nearest approach to its

majoritarian young audience. Visible proofs of this transition from RP to EE can be appreciated in the way politicians talk in front of the cameras. As Paxman stated in 2013, “privileged schoolboys like Tony Blair and George Osborne start slipping into an estuary accent” (n. pag.). Expressions such as *cheers*, *excuse me* or *mate*, very unlikely to be used as standard in the past, are heard frequently throughout Greater London and beyond, mainly displayed by young media consumers.

3.4. London as a source of speech innovation

Since its origins, the capital city has witnessed important linguistic developments from the emergence of Chancery English as the first standard form to the consolidation of RP as the selected variety of prestige. Moreover, UCL (University College of London) with John Wells as a leading figure, has fixed a set of standard phonetic symbols for English taking RP as guidance. Furthermore, it is an undisputed fact that linguistic phenomena go together with social and economic transformations with the spread of EE being a consequence of “new mobility patters following deindustrialization” (Tönnies 7). These changes result in an increasing dialect contact fostering the growth of these democratic varieties.

Thus, EE is increasing its popularity in the London area while at the same time, the multicultural nature of the capital city is playing an important role: “far from bolstering the spread of Estuary English and uniform pronunciations, some new towns are building their own distinctive ways of speaking” (Bucombe n. pag.). In short, London is the place of the Parliament and the Queen so the prominence of one accent or another will have crucial repercussions worldwide.

3.5. Purist reactions

Despite the flourishing of EE as a fashionable variety, many purist speakers remain sceptical about considering this accent continuum as the substitute of RP. In 1993, Connolly

described EE as “horrifying, considering that the idiots on radio and television spoke English like dregs of humanity, to the detriment of children” (qtd. in Altendorf, *Estuary English* 1). Hence, most of the British conservative society has fiercely opposed to the adoption of a variety which receives an important influence from Cockney, a negatively stereotyped variant. This has provoked the upper classes’ reluctance to adopt it, considering the Queen’s English as the purest non-regional accent to be taught at school.

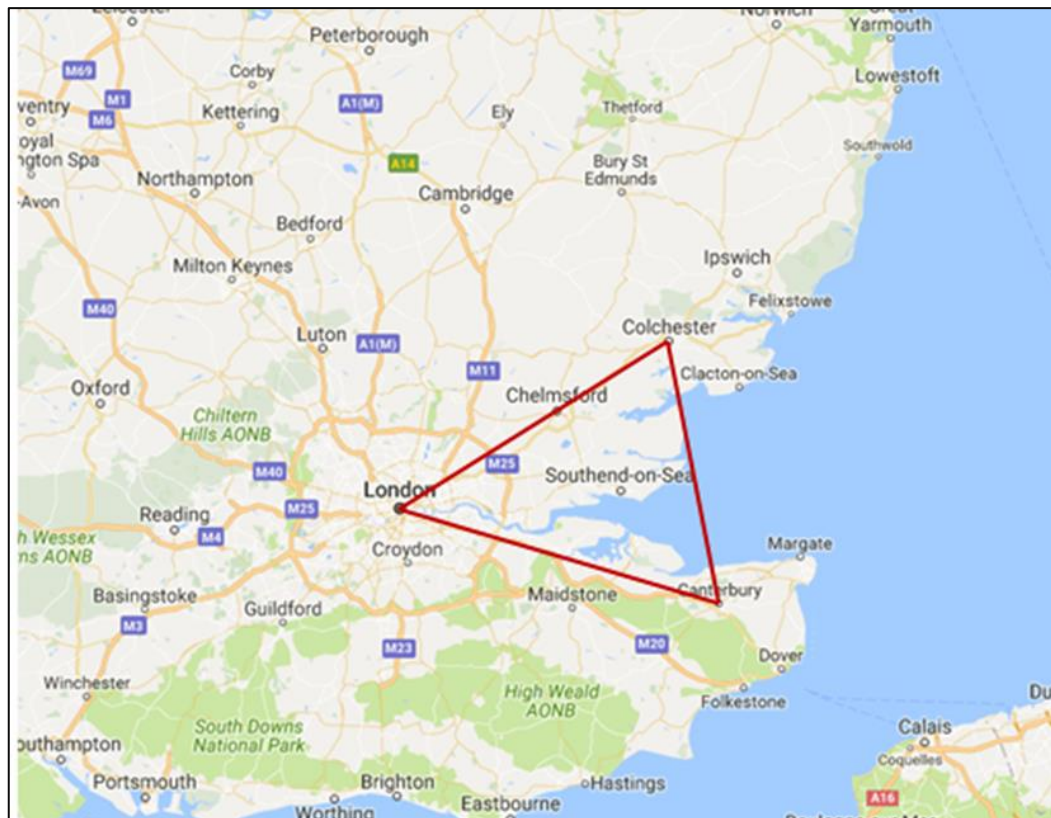
Other authors have gone in the same wavelength, like Widlake, in *The Daily Telegraph* who stated that “EE was not an accent but a disease and consideration should be given to its abolition” (qtd. in Altendorf, *Estuary English* 23). In 1998, Parsons asserted that “it was questionable whether EE would warrant any changes in pronouncing dictionaries, even if it usurped the hegemony of RP” (37). Nowadays, the spread of this concept is advancing by leaps and bounds. In the past, it had already appeared so in Gimson’s *Pronunciation of English*, a referent on English phonetics.

4. RECENT RESEARCH SUPPORTING THE PROMINENT WEIGHT OF EE

This section will give a systematic analysis on EE’s perception among the linguistic community by comparing three recent heuristic studies made by Altendorf (2016), Bonness (2011) and Eddington & Channer (2010).

Firstly, it is important to determine the categorization of EE as a dialect or accent. Dialect being a set of phonological, lexical, morphological and syntactic features and accent a special way of pronunciation reduced to the phonological level, it can be concluded that EE is very likely to be an accent continuum rather than a dialect. EE shares its features with two main varieties (RP and Cockney) not having its own grammatical system and adopting a considerable amount of loanwords from both of them.

The research conducted by Altendorf compiles 171 informants from different regional backgrounds who had to listen to some recordings dated 1998 and performed by 40 speakers located in a triangle in the South-east of England (London – Colchester – Canterbury), primordial area where EE is spoken.



Picture 1: Geographic area surveyed (Google Maps, n. pag.)

The major data were collected from youngsters aged 20 to 30 years old from two universities, one in the south (Brighton) and the other in the north (Glasgow). The results about the familiarity of the respondents with the term “Estuary English” showed a majoritarian proportion of people who very easily recognise the term versus those ones who do not:

<i>Q.: Have you ever heard of 'Estuary English'?</i>	
Yes	119
No	52
Total	171

Table 1: Estuary English's familiarity (Altendorf 147)

These findings reveal that EE is currently recognisable across the length and breadth of the UK due to its undeniable popularity. Another interesting finding is the case of the Midlands in that most of the participants belonging to that region identified EE with that area:

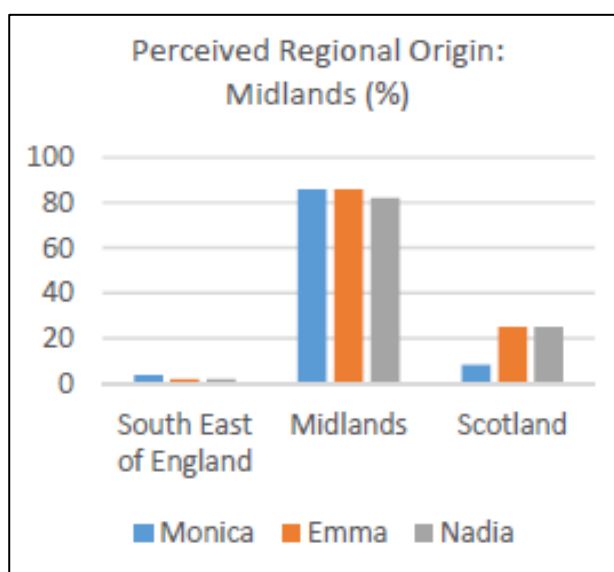


Figure 1: Estuary English's identification with Midlands (Altendorf 148)

These results illustrate the so-called “Jockney phenomenon” which consists of the influence of cockney speech patterns over Scots dialects, proving not only the spread of EE as a fashionable variety, but also its impact over well-founded English dialects. Altendorf presents the Midlands “as a good candidate for further research” (149) that can become highly influential in a wider exploration of this modern variety.

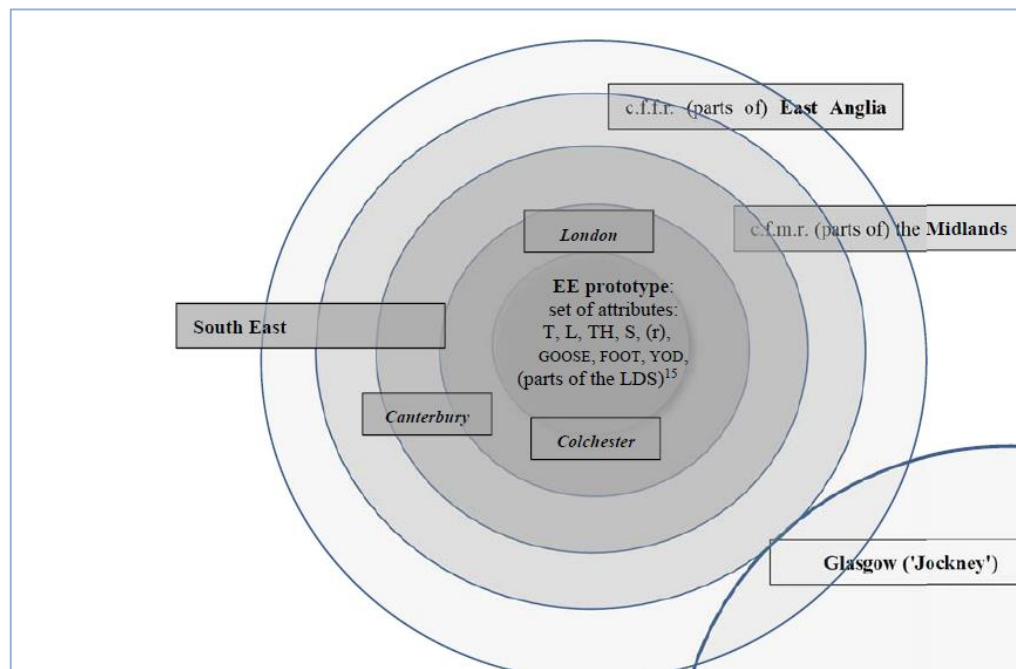


Figure 2: Estuary English's spectrum (Altendorf 150)

These findings are in keeping with Bonness' previous investigation on the county of Northamptonshire and its connection with EE. Northampton is a relatively new city which emerged in 1968 receiving an influx of Londoners during the second half of the century. This significant migration was mainly due to the evacuation in the Second World War and the city transformation into the tertiary sector. The study involves oral interviews performed on middle-class young people aged 18 to 20 years old who live in a 15 miles-radius of Northampton so as to investigate phonological traits such as L Vocalisation, Yod Coalescence, T Glottalling, TH- fronting and H dropping. The main findings are consistent agreeing in the accommodation of these EE features by the respondents as Bonnes points out: "Northampton speech has experienced a change of consonantal features originating from south-eastern England and decrease of the traditional local variants" (63). One example is the case of glottal stop in word final position:

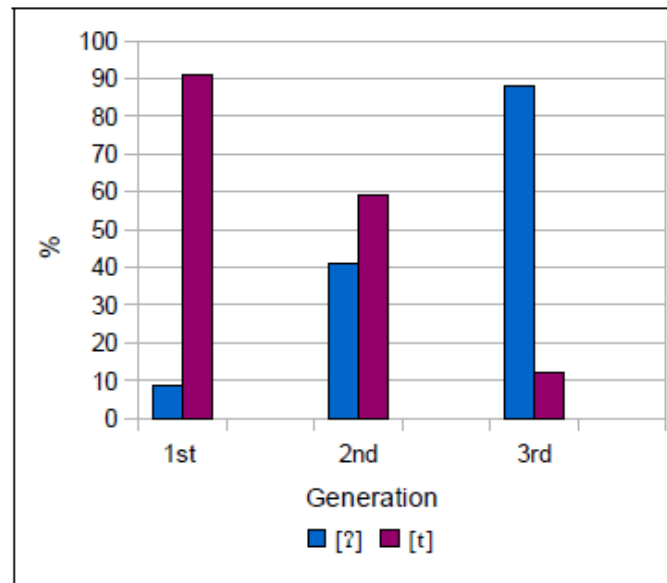


Figure 3: Glottal Stop (Bonnes 48)

The height of the bars represents a significant rise in the use of glottalling among new generations. This episode comes as a result of accent levelling because of geographical and social mobility. Within this territory, young people play an important role in the adoption of accents in that they are the ones who have wide access education and exposure to other linguistic users added to their taste for the adoption of fashionable accents.

The immense impact of EE overlapping other varieties is also confirmed in the work of Eddington and Channer (2010) which extend EE disclosure to the United States with an identical acquisition of glottal stop as in Northumberland. This research illustrates the evolution from General American flaps or “linking r” towards glottalling, passing from a rhotic to a non-rhotic accent.

Finally, other conspicuous evidence of EE repercussion is the website led by John Wells under the University College of London patronage with a compilation of fruitful resources carried out in the field. In addition, John Wells has designed a phonetic transcription scheme of this variety for educational purposes:

Transcribing Estuary English: differences from RP	
•	for <i>-ing</i> optionally write EE /ɪn/; for <i>-thing</i> optionally write EE /θɪŋk/
•	for RP dark /ɪ/, write EE /ɒ/
•	for RP /t/ when between {a vowel or sonorant} and {a consonant or word boundary}, write EE /ʔ/
•	for RP /tj, dj/, write EE /tʃ, dʒ/
•	for RP /aɪ, aʊ/, write EE /aɪ, æʊ/
•	for RP /ŋ/ in various positions, write EE /ən/
•	for <i>twenty, plenty, want(ed, ing, it, us), went</i> (before a vowel), in EE optionally omit the /t/

Table 2: Transcription Estuary English (Wells n. pag.)

However, Wells's last declarations uphold the progressive decline of this predominant accent: "in Britain, media interest in the EE phenomenon has now died down and it is many years since I have had anything to add to the website" (167), albeit interpretations are open and the topic is subject to debate.

5. EDUCATIONAL, SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REPERCUSSIONS

This section will examine EE's projection in education, society, economy and politics.

There being approximately 7000 living languages on the planet, English holds the leadership and its knowledge becomes an indispensable requisite in order to communicate in international contexts. Hence, the analysis of English pronunciation teaching is essential having a global effect. In the last few years, RP is losing its relevance in the pedagogical sector. Albeit Queen's English still stands as a standard model, students are no longer concerned about reducing their acquisition to this limited variant. New generations are exposed to different "World Englishes" and the idea of choosing the "correct model" is at present outdated. Jennifer Jenkins has proposed a convincing solution with her "Lingua

Franca Core” which searches “mutual intelligibility among speakers of English rather than the imitation of RP” (Grabe, Kochanski, and Coleman 332). In addition, the vision of EE as a teaching model is not so unfeasible as in previous years and even Rosewarne discerned that “EE had already led to credulous excitement in the EFL world, particularly in central Europe and South America” (qtd. in Wells 166). However, it cannot be concluded that EE may become the established model in an early future. What is undeniable is ESL learners’ shift of attitude influenced by teachers’ increasing awareness about other forms equally worthy as pedagogical models.

In social terms, EE has influenced users from the way they talk to the way they behave. Examples of the resulting adoption of this trendy variety are present in different sectors of society: “EE speakers can be found in Parliament, the BBC and in major business corporations” (Haugom 30). Popular TV programmes such as the soap opera *EastEnders* and the reality show *The Only Way is Essex (TOWIE)* have displayed EE’s spectrum nationwide.

In the economic field, many business people feel attracted by this friendly variety in order to sound closer to their customers. Despite this propagation, the presence of other varieties makes EE being “under threat from multicultural London English” (Khanna, n. pag.). Other speculations suggest a return to Received Pronunciation with “the rise of Queen’s English elocution lessons following the Brexit vote” (Wace n. pag.) caused by foreign people’s fear. Simultaneously, many British people are worried about the adoption of EE by their children influenced by the media. Thus, Brexit has spread a conservative tendency among the British population and this is also reflected in language. Another perspective since the Brexit phenomenon came into effect is the emergence of “Euro-English used predominately by second-language speakers, having the potential to alter Standard English” (Godron n. pag.). Therefore, it is difficult to guess whether Estuary English will become the

reference accent in education, society, economy and politics or whether it will make way to previous conservative forms or new ways of pronunciation.

CONCLUSION

There is no denying that Estuary English has placed itself at the top of popular accents in modern British society. However, it is crucial to analyse its state as a well-founded model so as not to overgeneralise. As stated by Wells, EE is “the continuation of a trend that has been going on for five hundred years or more” (qtd. in Altendorf, *Estuary English* 24).

Social, economic and political factors have made this shift of perception possible. The role of young users, city transformations and the impact of social media have become important agents in EE’s overlapping over the traditional Queen’s English. Despite its diffusion in a national and international level proved by contemporary studies, there are still conservative reactions that display mistrustful opinions about this variety. In addition, these purist linguists have found support in the Brexit phenomenon claiming for a revival of RP so as to preserve British traditional values.

On the other side, noticeable theories have gone further: UK current linguistic landscape does not only stress EE’s success among businessmen, politicians and teachers. It also spreads towards a major spectrum affected by new trends such as Jenkins’s *Lingua Franca Core*, multicultural London or World Englishes.

To sum up, EE’s evolution as a model of pronunciation is non-static and undetermined. Whereas its evidential impact is undeniable, its nature makes it very difficult to conclude that it will settle as the ruling standard variety.

WORKS CITED

- Altendorf, Ulrike. "Caught between Aristotle and Miss Marple...- A Proposal for a Perceptual Prototype Approach to 'Estuary English'." *Complutense Journal of English Studies* 24 (2016): 131-154. Web. 20 Mar. 2017.
- - -. *Estuary English: Levelling at the Interface of RP and South Eastern British English*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 2003. Web. 17 Feb. 2017.
- Bonness, Dania J. *Estuary English in Norfampton? Phonological Variation and Change in Northampton English*. MS Thesis. University of Bergen, 2011. Web. 22 Mar. 2017.
- Bucombe, Andrew. "London: Multilingual Capital of the World." *Independent*. 28 Mar. 1999. Web. 18 Mar. 2017.
- East, Melanie. "The Rise, Reign and (declining?) Reputation of Received Pronunciation." (2008). Web. 1 Mar. 2017. <http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~cpercyc/courses/6362-EastMelanie.htm>.
- Eddington, David, and Caitlin Channer. "American English has go? a lo? of Glottal Stops: Social Diffusion and Linguistic Motivation." *American Speech* 85.3 (2010): 338-351. *Research Gate*. Web. 23 Mar. 2017.
- Godron, Olivia. "English in the EU: Why it may Be Sidelined as an Official Language." *Oxford Today*. University of Oxford. 17 Sep. 2016. Web. 2 Feb. 2017.
- Grabe, Esther, Greg Kochanski, and John Coleman. "The Intonation of Native Accent Varieties in the British Isles, Potential of Miscommunication?" *English Pronunciation Models: A Changing Scene*. Eds. Katarzyna Dziubalska-Kolaczyk and Joanna Przedlacka. 2nd ed. Bern: Peter Lang AG, 2008. Web. 11 Feb. 2017.

- Haugom, Maren K. "*Cockney and the Queen*": *The Importance and Development of the Accent Known as Estuary English*. MS Thesis. University of Oslo, 2012. Web. 17 Mar. 2017.
- Jenkins, Jennifer. "Which Pronunciation Norms and Models for English." *ELT Journal* 52.2 (1998): 119-126. Print.
- Kennedy, Maev. "It's the End of the Frog and Toad for Regional Slang, Says Report." *The Guardian*. 29 Sept. 2016. Web. 17 Feb. 2017.
- Khanna, Aditi. "Queen's English is on its Way out, Finds New UK Report." *Live Mint*. 29 Sept. 2016. Web. April 2017.
- Mompeán, Jose A. "Consumers' Preferences and the Choice of English Pronunciation Models." University of Murcia. (2008): 959-964. Web. 17 Feb. 2017.
- - -. "Estuary English: Revisiting the Debate on its Status as a New Accent of English and Potential EFL Pronunciation Model." *Barcelona English Language and Literature Studies*. (2006): 1-13. Web. 20 Feb. 2017.
- Parsons, Gudrun. "From 'RP' to 'Estuary English': The Concept 'Received' and the Debate about British Pronunciation Standards." *UCL Psychology and Language Sciences*. (1998). Web. 13 Feb. 2017.
- Paxman, Jeremy. "Why People Change the Way they Speak." *BBC News*. 17 April 2013. Web. 11 Mar. 2017.
- Ramsaran, Susan. "RP: Fact and Fiction." *Studies in the Pronunciation of English: A Commemorative Volume in Honour of A.C. Gimson*. Ed. Susan Ramsaran. New York: Routledge, 1990. 178-191. Web. 21 Feb. 2017.
- Recknagel, Silja. *Cockney and Estuary English. A Comparison*. Norderstedt: GRIN, 2006. Print.

- Rogalinski, Pawel. "British Accents: NRP and Estuary English." *Przegląd Dziennikarski*. 28 Jan. 2011. Web. 28 Feb. 2017. <http://przegladdziennikarski.pl/british-accents-nrp-and-estuary-english/>
- Rosewarne, David. "Estuary English: Tomorrow's RP?" *English Today* 10:1 (1994): 3-8. Web. 17 Feb. 2017.
- Tönnies, Swantje. *Estuary English: Dialect Levelling in Southern Great Britain*. Norderstedt: GRIN, 2005. Print.
- Wace, Charlotte. "Repeat after me, Class: Elocution Lessons are on the Rise as Parents Fear their Children will Start Speaking like the Towie Cast." *Daily Mail*. 17 Sept. 2016. Web. 2 April 2017.
- Wells, John C. "EE: RIP." *Sounds Fascinating: Further Observations on English Phonetics and Phonology*. United Kingdom: Cambridge UP, 2016. 165-168. Web. 27 Mar. 2017.
- Walker, Robin. "Choosing a Model for Pronunciation – Accent not Accident." *TESOL Spain Newsletter*. (2002). Print.
- Wotschke, Ingrid. *How Educated English Speak English: Pronunciation as Social Behaviour*. Berlin: Frank & Timme, 2014. Web. 28 Feb. 2017.